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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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The views expressed in the articles do not necessarily represent any policy of this *Journal*. The authors of the articles alone are responsible for views expressed by them.

Published quarterly in January, April, July and October.
Revised Annual Subscription Rates:

India, Rs.5 U.K. and Europe £0-10-0. U.S.A. and Canada \$2.50

(Theological Students in India are entitled to get the *Journal* through their College Principals at the special rate of Rs.3 per year).

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

Contributed articles are welcome, subject to the usual rules; that such articles should not have been offered also to other publications or should not have appeared previously in any other journal or publication. Articles should if possible be typewritten (with double-spacing) and should not exceed 3,500 words. Articles submitted will be returned to the author if not considered suitable for publication. Correspondence, including comments on previously published articles and reviews, is also invited.

Editorial Notes

In this issue we publish the first of a series of articles on 'Recent Theological Publications in the Regional Languages'. This first article deals with Kannada theological publications. The aim of the series is to provide a survey of the progress made in recent years in the publication of original theological works or translations or adaptations, in the regional languages.

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The Indian Christian Theological Conference will be held in Gurukul, Madras, from 28th December, 1960, to 1st January, 1961. It is being organized under the auspices of the Board of Theological Education on the National Christian Council. The theme of the Conference will be 'The Christian View of Man in Society'. The Convener is Dr. P. David, Principal of Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute.

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The place of the study of New Testament Greek in the curriculum of our theological colleges and divinity schools is a subject of continuing discussion. In our next issue (October, 1960) we hope to publish one or two articles on the place of the study of original languages in theological studies: or, as some would prefer to style it, on 'the relation of Biblical studies and linguistics'.

What is the nature of permissible or desirable diversity within the Unity of the Church? Few questions are more important than this in our discussions upon Church Unity. An article in the present issue, on 'The Idea of a Regional Church', examines the question in its historical and contemporary implications.

Recent Christian Theological Publications in the Regional Languages

1. Kannada

S. J. SAMARTHA

This is a brief account, by no means exhaustive, of the present state and future prospects of Christian theological literature in the Kannada language. It is based on the personal knowledge of the writer and some of the literature conference reports. Because of the difficulty in getting information from the different publishing houses and the lack of up-to-date catalogues, it must be recognized that the scope of this article is limited.

I

Kannada is one of the four Dravidian languages of the South,, at present chiefly confined to the Mysore State, although, Kannadigas are scattered all over India. There is close resemblance between the Kannada and the Telugu scripts and recently there was some talk of evolving a common script for the two languages. Such a step would undoubtedly be a great advantage to both the languages. Kannada is a full-fledged language with a long history of literature. Some Kannada words are to be found in Greek dramas and some of the important inscriptions of Asoka. In recent years Christian missionaries, labouring in the Karnataka area, have contributed a great deal to the development of the language. Dr. F. Kittel, one of the early German missionaries working in South Kanara, wrote a monumental dictionary of the language which is recognized as standard work and is used as an important basis for later dictionaries. The work of the missionaries has to be recognized in the matter of printing also.

While Mysore State is the chief centre of the language, Mangalore in South Kanara, formerly in the Madras State, and Dharwar in North Karnataka, formerly in the Bombay State, are the other centres where this language is spoken. Political

differences and cultural variations have resulted in certain noticeable differences in idiom in these areas, particularly in the spoken language, but with the reorganization of the States on a linguistic basis a process of integration is taking place. This is a healthy, but slow process which will gradually contribute to the strength

and growth of the language.

It is an obvious fact that since 1947 a great renaissance is taking place in all the vernaculars of India and Kannada is no exception to this. All kinds of literature-newspapers and magazines, dramas and detective stories, works on science, politics, religion and philosophy-are flourishing and are read with great interest. Since we are concerned here with theological literature, one need only mention some of the translations of and commentaries on the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita, the different publications of the Ramakrishna Mission and, among others, those of the Adhyātma Kāryālaya, Hubli, which has published such books as Upanishadrahasya (2nd Ed.), Upanishadkathavali (3rd Ed.), Gitarahasya (4th Ed.), etc. There is no doubt that renaissant Hinduism is finding one of its most effective expressions through the medium of the vernaculars and there is plenty of evidence to show that this process will continue to grow. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay not only publishes books in English, but has also definite plans to put them into the major vernaculars of India.

II

It is clear, therefore, that there is a great hunger for good reading matter and an increasing desire for more serious types of literature dealing with religion, theology and philosophy. But there is little evidence that the Christian Church as a whole is alive to the implications of this fact and the opportunities it offers. It is true that certain organizations are making efforts to produce Christian literature, and that there are individuals here and there who are interested in this question, but the general Christian community does not seem to have either a responsible awareness of the situation or a literary sensitiveness and creativity to meet its demands. The Christian literary output in Kannada is extremely unsatisfactory, particularly when one compares it with the literature that is being produced in the other South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

There are many reasons for this state of affairs. One is the lack of co-operation between the different publishing agencies in the Karnataka, which have different missionary and national backgrounds. The Bangalore Tract and Book Society, the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, the Wesley Press, Mysore, the Scripture Literature Press, Akkitimmanahalli, and others have each published individually a number of books, but there is little evidence of responsible co-operation, careful co-ordination and far-sighted planning in the production of Christian books. Another difficulty

is that of publicity and distribution. It sometimes happens that one area does not know what books are available in another area. Distribution is a major headache. Press managers will rightly point out that religious publications in the vernacular lie unsold in their storerooms for years and years so that investing money in such books is not just a risk, but a definite loss. On the business side, Christian bookshops seem to be more concerned with English books published here and abroad than in the production of vernacular literature. Along with this, one must also take into account the attitude of the Christian community towards buying useful Christian books or magazines. The quality and subjectmatter of the books might have something to do with it, but more serious is an attitude which seems to be a carry-over from a past missionary era when Christian books, pamphlets, etc., were published in large numbers and distributed either freely or at a nominal cost. As a result, people seem to be psychologically conditioned to expect Christian religious books more or less free. Unless there is a definite change of attitude in this respect, the future of Kannada theological literature does not seem to be very bright.

A brief review of the existing theological literature might be made here.* This has necessarily to be selective and does not give a picture of all the books available. Among the commentaries,

mention may be made of the following:

W. E. Tomlinson, St. Mark's Gospel, W. Perston, St. John's Gospel, M. Anandamurthy, Revelation. There are a few other commentaries also, but with very few exceptions, all of them are old and outdated. Vedakosha, a Biblical dictionary, although an old work, has been a great help to theological students and ministers.

Books on Christian theology are very few. Christa Vedantasara is a Kannada translation of a Telugu work by W. C. Campbell. Notes on the Doctrine of the Atonement by C. B. Firth is a critical account of the various theories of the Atonement. Some of the other books are—God's Plan of Salvation, Marrow of Methodism, Studies in the Word of God by Ellis Roberts, Seven Words on the Cross by H. Daub and various explanatory booklets on Catechisms.

The following are some of the books on Church History: First Church History, by Vere E. Walker, Ancient Church and Modern India, a translation of G. Philip's book by P. Gurushanta,

Landmarks of Church History, etc.

Among other books are the following: W. E. Tomlinson, King of Truth, W. E. Perston, A Summary of Gospel History, G. H. C. Angus, An Introduction to the History and Message of

[°]For a fuller list see the appendix in the Report and Findings of the Kannada Christian Literature Conference, Bangalore, September 1958. This is a comprehensive list, but does not give the date of publication of the books mentioned nor does it always indicate whether the work is original or a translation.

the New Testament (Tr.), Introduction to the Message of the New Testament by Campbell, Forty Meditations (Lenten Readings), A. C. Clayton, Paul Herald and Witness (Tr.). Besides these there are a number of booklets, pamphlets, etc., published at different times.

A few observations might be made here about the available books. The first is the most obvious one, viz. that the existing theological literature in Kannada is woefully inadequate either for the spiritual nurture of the Christian church or for an intelligent exposition of Christian Doctrine to others. There is no proper balance between Biblical, Theological, Historical and other works. Almost all of them are translations, the number of original works being negligible. Second, most of these books are written by missionaries, the majority of whom belong to a previous generation. To them a tribute must be paid for the labour they have put in to learn a language foreign to them and for the sustained efforts they have made to produce Christian books in Kannada. Third, one must note that all these books are written by Christians for the Christians. They are limited by the religious needs and the literary standards of the Christian community. Very little effort has been made to reach the literary, educated non-Christian who will be disappointed if he should seek an authoritative, literary book on the Christian faith equal in standard, for example, to a Kannada book on modern Hinduism. These observations are made not by way of criticism, but merely as a description of the existing state of affairs as it appears to the writer, hoping that our analysis of the present situation might help us to plan for the future.

Mention must, however, be made of certain books which are in the process of being printed or in MS. form. One such book is C. B. Firth's *Christian Doctrine According to the Creeds*. It has the authority of many years of teaching theology in an Indian setting. The writer had the opportunity to go through it in MS. and is impressed with its breadth of scope, clear presentation, theological insights and literary structure. Another is a translation of Dr. S. Estborn's book, *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, prepared by some members of the faculty of the B.E.M. Theological Seminary, Mangalore. It is hoped that both these works

will be published before long.

III

While the existing state of affairs with regard to theological literature in Kannada is not very encouraging, one need not be pessimistic and minimize the possibilities for the future. Dr. W. Scopes, the Literature Secretary of the National Christian Council, is giving constant encouragement to the regional councils in this respect. The Karnataka Christian Council in its recent meeting at Raichur in January 1960 has appointed a Kannada Literature Board with Dr. S. J. Samartha as its chairman and Rev. M.

Anandamurthy as its secretary. Plans are being made to publish the manuscripts which have been ready for some time and to work out a programme for the future. Some points to which attention will have to be paid are the following:

1. A qualified, full-time person has to be set apart to be in charge of this work under the direction of the Literature Board. Steps are already being taken about this and various bodies in the Karnataka are co-operating to meet the expenses involved.

2. A Plan has to be prepared carefully for the production of theological literature in Kannada, with topics, writers and priorities listed. Basic works such as Dictionaries, Word Books, Commentaries on the major books of the Bible have to be produced before long. Theological works giving an outline of Christian doctrine and also dealing with specific doctrines are necessary keeping in mind the intellectual context of present-day India. Books on Church History, particularly the history of Christianity in India and the biographies of great Christian leaders, have also to be considered. Encouragement should be given to original works, but one need not avoid translations or adaptations of good books which are available such as the World Christian Books and the Christian Students' Library series published by the Senate of Serampore College.

3. Co-ordination of work between the different Christian printing and publishing houses in the Karnataka is a necessity along with proper attention being given to publicity and distribution. Unless a greater measure of co-operation is achieved between these organizations, manuscripts prepared with a great

deal of labour cannot see the light of day.

4. To find the proper people with literary gifts and theological background is not an easy job. They have to be discovered, encouraged, nurtured and used properly. Promising students in the regional theological seminaries and teachers in such institutions could help. But, it is the Church itself which is responsible to look for such people and, if necessary, to set them apart for certain periods for literary work. Production of literature anywhere is a slow, painful process. Ideas are easy to conceive, but hard to deliver. Too much cannot be expected too early. Moreover, one should not forget that the goal is not just the production of books, but the spiritual nurture of the Christian Church and the effective exposition of Christian truth in all its aspects. The success of a literature programme therefore depends, in the final analysis, not so much on committees, boards and subsidies. although these are useful, as on the spiritual sensitiveness of the Church and a responsible awareness of its growing maturity.

New Testament Sacrifice: Metaphor or Concept?

S. ESTBORN

The caption above is not quite adequate, because this article does not deal with all the aspects of sacrifice in the New Testament, but only with sacrifice used in the interpretation of the suffering and death of Christ. In my book *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation* I have a chapter on this subject, and it is particularly on this chapter I have received much criticism. Perhaps it will not be out of place to say a few words in reply, especially as the book is now being translated into some of the vernaculars.

I have been criticized for attempting to remove the sacrificial idea from the interpretation of the Cross. This is, however, not the case. On the contrary, I endeavour to point out as clearly as possible that this metaphor is used in the New Testament to explain one aspect of the Cross, and still more so in Christian hymn writing and devotional literature. An attempt to remove it from Christian Theology can therefore not come into account, if the

Theology claims to be based on the New Testament.

But there is a widespread tendency to make the sacrificial idea the all-inclusive category under which the whole Theology of Salvation is to be subsumed, notably so in F. C. N. Hicks' The Fullness of Sacrifice. My intention was, therefore, to reduce this category to the proportions it has received in the New Testament. There it is only one among many other metaphors used to illustrate the manifold aspects of the mystery of the Cross. An attempt to make it the metaphor, the all-inclusive category, in the interpretation of the Cross must therefore fail in a theology which wants to build only on the New Testament and is not out to defend a doctrine. It is very instructive, in this respect, to study Vincent Taylor's three books Jesus and His Sacrifice, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching and Forgiveness and Reconciliation (see the account of these works in my book). In the first book he tried with insurmountable difficulty to subsume the whole thing under the sacrificial category. In his second book he had greatly to modify it, and in the third he abandoned the attempt altogether in favour of a quite different approach. What remained of the first attempt was only the idea of 'The Divine Self-offering', which is, after all, a different idea.

I have not tried to remove the metaphor of sacrifice but to give it the proportions and significance the New Testament gives to it.

But, secondly, I have been criticized for making it a metaphor, because, in the opinion of my critics, it is not a metaphor but a concept. The Cross should not be likened unto a sacrifice, it is a sacrifice, the sacrifice fulfilling the idea of all other sacrifices. I must confess that none of my critics, not even all of them together, have been able to convince me in this respect. All other categories, like reconciliation, redemption, ransom, vicarious penalty, encounter, etc., are clearly metaphorical in character, i.e. human actions are used to illustrate and shed light, by way of analogy, on this stupendous Divine action which we call the Cross. Only the category of sacrifice should not be a

metaphor but a concept! It is hard to believe.

What is a sacrifice? It is always a gift offered by human beings to God. According to the priestly tradition in Israel the sacrificial system was ordered by God Himself, through Moses, for the cleansing of the people from sin, yet only from unintentional sin and ritual uncleanness (Lev. 4 and 5). The prophets, however, challenged this tradition and maintained that God had not ordered the sacrificial system (Jer. 7:22; Isa. 1:12); the only sacrifice demanded by God was a broken and contrite heart (Ps. 51:16f.). Whether the prophets wanted a cult without sacrifice is a difficult question which cannot be regarded as settled. Anyhow, in Israel, as in all surrounding nations, sacrifices were performed, for different purposes, either to solicit some favour from God, or to thank Him or to appease Him. Mostly it is the last aspect of sacrifice that has been used in interpreting the meaning of the Cross. Such sacrifices can be said to testify to a consciousness of the sacrificer that something has gone wrong in his relationship to God and that something must be done to restore it. In this respect it may be said that these sacrifices point to the work of Christ as the Sacrifice that restores the right relationship between man and God.

When we become aware of our sin we experience God's condemnation of us as sinners. But this is removed by faith in the Cross of Christ. Therefore He can be said to be the 'propitia-

tion' for our sins.

On the other hand, it should be quite clear that we cannot sacrifice Christ, we cannot offer Him to God. Already here the analogy breaks down, indicating that we are using a metaphor. Now it may rightly be said that He offered Himself: it is a self-sacrifice. Thereby, however, we have come far away from the

¹ I cannot in this brief article enter on a discussion on this much debated problem. Only this much may be said, that Old Testament research now seems fairly unanimous in the opinion that the sacrificial system in Israel was mostly a heritage from the Canaanites, and that the 'desert tradition', the primitive Mosaic religion, was much simpler in this respect.

original idea of sacrifice, a gift offered by human beings to God. This is made still more clear when we recall that here it is *not we* who are giving something to God, but it is *He* who is giving to

us: 'God gave His only begotten Son'.

All this indicates that the category of sacrifice as used in the New Testament to illustrate the meaning of the Cross, is a metaphor, and, like all metaphors, liable to limitations and inadequacies, inasmuch as it can only shed light on *one* aspect of the meaning of the Cross, and even that only imperfectly and by way of analogy; ultimately, like all metaphors, its analogy breaks down. But it serves to give a hint at one effect of the Cross.

Now, it has been said by my critics, thirdly, that I have come to this result because I have given too little weight to New Testament exegesis. In one respect I accept the criticism, insofar as I have given far too little room in my book to exegetical problems. But this deficiency is due to lack of space. I wish I had had the opportunity of supporting my views by a full exegesis of all my references to Scripture. But that would have demanded a quite different book.

As an argument against my view of the sacrificial metaphor, however, I make this criticism a boomerang on my critics. In several places in my book I have pointed out that the advocates of the all-inclusiveness of the sacrificial category read the idea of sacrifice into texts which do not contain it. My critics, both in reviews and discussions, have produced object lessons of such a

procedure.

Isaiah 53 is a common victim in this respect. This chapter is said to use 'sacrificial language' throughout. This is of course supported by U. E. Simon in A Theology of Salvation. But I am not convinced by his exegesis. Verses 4-6 are said to indicate a sacrifice. Do they? 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed'. These words do not take us to the altar in a temple where a slaughtered victim is laid as an offering to God, but to the courtyard of a prison where a man is flogged and punished for the sake of another. This is not the metaphor of sacrifice, but of vicarious punishment.

The words 'as a lamb that is led to slaughter' (verse 7) may, but must not necessarily, be understood as a hint of a sacrifice. The context makes it highly improbable that it was a sacrifice that was in the mind of the prophet. The second member of the parallelism, 'as a sheep that before its shearer is dumb', shows that this was not the case. The prophet is speaking of the humble silence of the Suffering Servant, and for that purpose he uses the similes of the silence of a lamb led to slaughter and a sheep before its shearer.

'He bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors' (verse 12) is said to refer to the sin-bearing sacrificial victim. This seems to me more than doubtful. The sacrificial

victim makes no intercession. Is not the Servant here rather patterned on the prophet who bears the iniquities and sins of the

people on his heart and makes intercession for them?

There is only one clear reference to sacrifice in the whole chapter, viz. in verse 10: 'When thou shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed'. But this is just one metaphor among all the others.

Now recent Old Testament scholarship has detected a cultpattern in this chapter. This whole prophecy of the Suffering Servant is built upon the pattern of cult-hymns used at the annual festival in which the King, the representative of the deity, is symbolically attacked by hostile forces, dethroned, humiliated and punished, perhaps even killed symbolically, only to be raised again after a short while, victoriously triumphing over his enemies, resuming his power and his throne in glory. The very idea of vicarious suffering should have had its origin in such rites and motives. Be that as it may. If the prophet has had such procedures in mind, he has used them freely, by way of allusion, to convey a message of quite different kind, viz. the vicarious suffering of the Servant of the Lord.

Clearly we listen in this chapter to a prophet-poet who is conveying his message, in a poet's manner, by using a number of different metaphors, among them also *one* referring to sacrifice. To say that the whole chapter speaks in sacrificial terms, is clearly to read into many verses a meaning which they do not contain.

And this seems to me to be inadequate exegesis.

Another phrase which has suffered like treatment is that of 'the blood of Christ', which often without reservation is interpreted as 'the sacrifice of Christ'. Yet it should be clear that 'the blood' in Biblical languages, often has nothing at all to do with sacrifice, but stands for the violent death of somebody: Abel, Zachariah (Gen. 4:10; Luke 11:50); 'the blood of the prophets' (Matt. 23:30), 'the blood of all men' (Acts 20:26). 'The blood of Christ', in a number of cases, stands simply for his death, his surrendered life. This is so in the phrase: 'the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood' (Acts 20:28) with its clear reference to the idea of 'ransom', of liberation, redemption, by one life given for another. The same is the case with 'redemption through his blood' (Eph. 1:7), 'loosed us from our sins by his blood' (Rev. 1:5), 'Thou wast slain and didst purchase unto God by thy blood men of all tribes' (Rev. 5:9). 'The Lamb', in the book of Revelation, according to Dodd (The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel) is not the sacrificial lamb, but the leader-lamb of God's flock, the Messiah, who is slain in battle in front of the flock, thereby saving the life of the flock.

A word which has been quoted against my view is St. Paul's phrase 'justified by his blood' (Rom. 5:9) which is said to prove that justification and sacrifice, in St. Paul's thought, are inseparable, and that sacrifice therefore cannot be taken as a metaphor but as a concept. But the very word 'justified' points in a different

direction. It does not take us to an altar where the priest is handling the sacrificial victim, but to a court of law, with a judge, a law, an accused, a trial, a verdict; which, paradoxically enough, is an acquittal, because somebody else has suffered the death penalty on behalf of the guilty. That these ideas were in the Apostle's mind is corroborated by the preceding verses: 'For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: for peradventure for a good man (i.e. one who has been good to some one) some one would even dare to die' (5:7). Unless we come to this passage with a predetermined mind and an established doctrine, we would not find support in it for the sacrificial interpretation of the Cross.

The same can be said of phrases like: 'having made peace through the blood of his Cross' (Col. 1:20) and: 'ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ' (Eph. 2:13). The context in both cases speaks of 'enemies', 'reconciliation', and shows clearly that what was in the Apostle's mind was not the idea of sacrifice but the metaphor of reconciliation (katallage)

which is a metaphor quite different from that of sacrifice.

There are cases in the New Testament where 'the blood of Christ' undoubtedly refers to sacrificial blood as in phrases like 'sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ', 'with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish, and without spot, even the blood of Christ' (1 Peter 1:2, 19), and: 'the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin' (1 John 1:7). But they are comparatively few. The sacrificial metaphor is sparingly used in the New Testament.

There is only one writer, viz. the anonymous author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who has made extensive use of this category in interpreting the Cross. But he seems to have had a special purpose in view. Evidently he was writing to Jewish Christians who were wavering and in danger of falling back into the Jewish faith, because they found it hazardous to abandon their ancestral sacrifices and the priestly system prescribed by the Law. The writer points out to them that there is no need of such fears, because all sacrifices have been fulfilled in the one Sacrifice of Christ, who is the true High Priest. But even so, He is not offered by man; He offered Himself.

The sacrificial system is used in the New Testament in the interpretation of the Cross, and I have, in my book, taken it into account. But it is used in a restrictive manner by the Apostles and by Jesus Himself. It does not occupy the dominant position it has been given later in Christian theology. And when it is used in the New Testament it is used in the same way as other metaphors, i.e. as hinting at one aspect of the richness of the mystery of the

cross.

My sole intention in writing this article is to warn against a tendency which may prove dangerous in the theological field, viz.

See pp. 128ff. and 163ff.; in the 2nd ed. pp. 129ff. and 164ff.

the tendency to subsume the whole content of the Christian revelation under the idea of sacrifice. Thereby the Christian faith is in danger, not only of being narrowed down to just one aspect of the Cross, but also of being changed into sacramentalism and sacerdotalism. The danger is particularly great in India, because the Hindu environment of the Church is saturated with these things. It has recently been suggested that here, in sacramentalism, is the real point of contact between the Christian faith and Hinduism, and that it would be a profitable way of approach, which we therefore should attempt. I feel the other way. It would probably be a means whereby Hinduism would obscure the Gospel and envelop the Christian faith, like so many others, in its many clastic folds. If the Apostles found it necessary to make a restrictive use of sacrificial ideas in their interpretation of the Cross, this necessity is no less in India.

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By Grace Through Faith

J. D. BLAIR and A. R. MACBETH

One of the points of general agreement in the Plan of Church Union in North India and Pakistan—a point which no one would wish to dispute—is the statement (Plan I, iv) that we 'are saved by grace through faith'. The phrase is taken from St. Paul (Eph. 2:8) and since many are now looking forward to the time when the Plan can be brought to fulfilment it may be worth while to examine it in some detail so that we may more clearly understand

just what it means or implies.

The phrase, we have said, is St. Paul's and we do not need to be reminded that the word *faith* is one that is a great favourite of his, one which is, as they say, central to his theology. But when he is speaking of the fruits of faith he does not by any means always use the same Greek expression. It is not safe to rely on translations in this matter, because, as in the Authorized Version 'by', 'through', 'out of' and 'in' (faith) are liable to become in translation 'by (faith)', so doubtless in the various Indian Versions there is the same difficulty in adequately representing the Greek of the New Testament.

For instance there are the quotations of Habakkuk 2:4, in Romans 1:17, and Gal. 3:11 (as well as in Heb. 10:38), 'the righteous shall live by faith'. In all cases, 'by faith' is the translation of $\epsilon \kappa \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega s$ (ēk pisteōs, out of faith). So, also, in Romans 3:30;5:1;9:30,32;10:6; Gal. 2:16;3:8,24, in all of which cases we are said to be justified or to receive justification (δικ αιοσύνη, translated righteousness in R.V., but we shall have a word to say about that in a moment), such justification arising from our faith, just as the promise (Gal. 3:22) arises from faith.

Or there is the simple dative $\pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota$ (Pistei, by faith) with or without the definite article. In Acts 26:18, Paul, quoting the words heard in his vision, speaks of 'them that are sanctified by faith in Me', just as in Acts 15:9 Peter had spoken of God cleansing the hearts of the Gentiles 'by (the) faith'. In Rom. 3:28 (in spite of 5:1 to follow where we read 'out of faith') we are justified 'by faith' ($\pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota$) and in 5:2 again our approach to God is 'by (the) faith'. The simple dative also occurs in similar contexts in Rom. 4:19f.; 11:20; 2 Cor. 1:24 (as well as many times in Hebrews in contexts not relevant to the present discussion).

'In faith' (ἐν πίστει) comes only once, in Gal. 2:20 'that life which I now live in the flesh I live in Faith, the faith which is in

the Son of God'. Similarly, $\epsilon m \ell \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota$ on the ground of faith' is only found in St. Paul in Phil. 3:9. But 'through faith' ($\delta \iota \lambda \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega s$) is found in a number of places—Rom. 3:22, 25, 30f.; Gal. 2:16; 3:14, 26; Eph. 2:8; 3:12, 17; Phil. 3:9; Col. 2:12; 2 Tim. 3:15. We might note specially that in Gal. 2:16 ('justified . . . through faith in Jesus Christ') the phrase 'through faith' is immediately followed by 'out of faith' ($\epsilon \kappa \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega s$) in exactly the same sense, saying positively what was previously said negatively. Again, the promise of God which was 'out of faith' in Gal. 3:22 is 'through faith' in Gal. 3:14. And in Ephesians 3:12 our 'access' which is in Romans 5:2 is 'by faith' ($\tau \hat{\eta} \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota$) is 'through the faith' ($\delta \iota \lambda \tau \hat{\eta} s \pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega s$).

We cannot help concluding that St. Paul uses all these cases and prepositions fairly indiscriminately. Indeed we might say that he used them loosely if that did not imply that he did not think that there was much difference between them and that one was as correct as the other. The fact is they are all correct. This does not only mean that St. Paul spoke of faith so often in his letters that he felt bound from time to time to vary the preposition he used with it in the interests of style. It means that faith was to him so fundamental a thing that he was compelled to use every possible expression so that he might convey to others something of the fullness of meaning which the word had

for him.

What was that meaning? It was something to do with the great thing that had befallen Paul on the Road to Damascus, the great change in his life, his outlook, his activities, his attitude to God and men which had there begun. God-no one else, certainly no human agency, could have done it-had there lifted him up and turned him round to face a different direction, to accept that Jesus, whom he had previously persecuted, as his Saviour. He accepted the fact that God had done this (there was for him no other course)—he believed it (πιστεύειν), but that belief, that faith (\(\pi\io\tau_{\text{i}}\sigma_{\text{i}}\sigma_{\text{i}}\sigma_{\text{i}}\sigma_{\text{i}}\sigma_{\text{i}}\) was not a dry academic thing, it coloured and transformed all his life, his mind, his will, his emotions, his thoughts, words and deeds. This change wrought by God and the corresponding result in his life he again and again contrasts with his previous efforts at serving the same God by a strict observance of the Jewish Law. Now he had a place of standing before God (Rom. 11:20, cf. 2 Cor. 1:24), a relationship which he had not realized before, an entry into the presence of God which he had never known to exist (Rom. 5:2; Eph. 3:12). But especially he loves to say that he has been 'justified' (δικαιοῦσθαι) or has become possessed of 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη)—and in the case of both words thus translated it is unfortunate that no better English equivalent could be found. To be 'justified' really means to have been granted, by an act of God through sharing in the risen life of Jesus Christ, admission into God's Kingdom, and 'righteousness' is the corresponding noun. Neither of the words has reference to any human merit or act or condition of life.

All this, St. Paul says, comes 'out of', 'by', 'in', 'on account of', 'through' faith-that is, through his response to the vision of God given to him. And this he emphasizes so strongly (and those who, like St. Augustine and Martin Luther, have shared an experience similar to his, have emphasized it still more) that among Christians 'by faith alone' (sola fide) has become a sort of watchword. Such Christians forget two things-they forget that by 'faith alone' is not a phrase to be found anywhere in the Bible, and they forget that all have not shared St. Paul's experience of a sudden conversion. It is perhaps almost inevitable that those who have not had the same immediate apprehension of the overwhelming power of God's might and love should also fail to perceive equally clearly with St. Paul what faith in its fullness means. To them, the response to God's mighty love may be lifelong struggle, not a once-for-all experience, and consequently faith becomes not so much a lasting state in which they can continually rejoice, as a thing to be striven for. 'Faith', it has been said (Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 26), 'is the "yes" of the soul when the central proposition of Christianity is presented to it'-but that 'yes' does not come equally naturally or equally easily to all. And the result of striving for it as a thing leads imperceptibly into a frame of mind which sees it as something which may become a possession of mine, something which I hold, something which belongs (at least potentially) to me. So that those who must emphasize that salvation and justification are not of works but of faith are frequently guilty of making that faith itself a work—something of *mine*, on which I can rely. When that happens, 'by faith alone' may be a most misleading phrase.

But as we have said, it is not a phrase which St. Paul uses. Indeed, he is careful to teach his converts that faith 'should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God' (1 Cor. 2:5). Justification, sanctification, the promise of God all come indeed 'out of faith', 'by faith', 'through faith', but this is all of God's grace, His kindness, His free gift. Christ Jesus is indeed 'a propitiation, through faith', but what we are justified by is 'His (God's) grace' (Rom. 3:24f.). The promise to Abraham and his seed is indeed 'of faith', but only 'that it may be according to grace' (Rom. 4:16). Most clearly of all, in the place where St. Paul has occasion to describe the whole process, he says, 'by grace have ye been saved through faith', and he emphasizes this by adding, 'not of yourselves; it is the gift of God' (Eph. 2:8).

'It is the gift of God'—in the life of a Christian the importance of the phrase can hardly be exaggerated. Our standing in the sight of God is not the result of our works, or even of our faith, as if that faith had value in itself, as if something belonging to me was at least in part, or in some sense, responsible for my salvation. There was once a woman who came to our Lord in the midst of a crowd thronging a narrow street, unknown, unnoticed, and touched the hem of His garment. At once she was healed; and then Jesus told her (as He had told so many others) 'thy faith

hath saved thee; go in peace' (Mark 5:34, marg.). In what sense did the faith of the woman save her? Was it her faith that healed her? Or was it the power of God proceeding forth from our Lord? She could not remain hidden because our Lord felt the gift proceeding from Him. It was the gift of God that healed her; her faith enabled her to receive the gift. 'By grace . . . through faith . . . it is the gift of God.' Thy faith hath saved thee'; yes, in a sense; and our Lord, in His desire to draw attention away from Himself to the goodness of His Father, and to prepare us all for the great dignity of being children of God in and through Himself and of living in faith in Him, calls the woman's attention to what was her own part in her healing, her faith, which opened herself to the inflowing stream of God's grace. So she was (and we are) encouraged to have faith in God.

and to wait for His gift.

A misinterpretation of our Lord's words 'thy faith hath saved thee' (or rather a false emphasis placed upon them has led to the attitude which Leslie Weatherhead* deprecates in those who desire spiritual healing, an attitude characterized by the words. 'I suppose I could not get well because I had not enough faith'. Here faith is exalted into an active principle by whose power I may be healed-if I have enough of it, I shall get well. So. also, among those who emphasize salvation by faith, and faith alone: consciously or unconsciously they tend to think of faith as an active power by which I, as it were, take hold of a salvation which God has left lying about for such as have faith to pick up. But salvation is not something which I take, let alone something which I earn; it is the gift of God which He is waiting to pour on those who turn to Him. And faith, whether for healing or for eternal salvation is not a power in itself; it is a belief in the power of God, coupled with a turning to God to receive that

of the goodness of God, and His faithfulness and power. We said above that many people make faith into a work, and by that is meant precisely this, that for them faith becomes an active power, and something for which a man has merit. He earns salvation by his faith. But if this is so, salvation is not the free gift of God. If salvation be by faith alone, what is the need of Baptism? Baptism becomes only the declaring of my faith, and therefore might be regarded as dispensable. By faith alone, also, I might receive the Body and Blood of Christ-what need of a Sacrament? Surely one of the great reasons why Sacraments are necessary is that man may always understand that the grace which he receives through them is by the act of God. The grace does not come as wages for his own faith. His faith indeed accompanies the Sacrament, it brings him to it, it prepares him to receive the grace. But the Sacrament itself is the deed of gift performed by God through the appointed ministers of the Church.

power. So it is not the size of my faith that matters; it is the size

Psychology, Religion and Healing, p. 428f.

which is Christ's Body, a solemn pledge and assurance of the reality of that gift; so that we may know that it is by grace that we are saved through faith. It is not by works that we are saved, lest anyone should boast, even of his faith: for it is not of ourselves, it is the gift of God.

`When we once begin to form good resolutions, God gives us every opportunity of carrying them out.'

St. John Chrysostom: Homilies

The Seal and the First Instalment

I. C. HINDLEY

After setting out in some detail the evidence to show that the carly Fathers, when they spoke of the 'seal', meant baptism, J. B. Lightfoot added the comment, 'But it may be questioned whether St. Paul (σφραγισάμενος 2 Cor. 1:22, comp. Ephes. 4:30) or St. John (Rev. 9:4) used the image with any direct reference to baptism.' We may infer from the few pages he left of a Commentary on Ephesians that for him the seal was an inward spiritual testimony. Despite notable exceptions, however,2 modern opinion seems to have set against Lightfoot's judgment. Recent treatises on baptism³ all claim these texts for their own. Only Professor G. W. H. Lampe, who gives us the fullest treatment of the 'sealing' metaphor in his book The Seal of the Spirit, is more cautious—one must say, I think, ambivalent. There is, of course, the third view, so ably refuted by Lampe that we need not discuss it, that the 'seal' is confirmation.

It is not the intention of this article to enter into controversy about baptism, though the results reached may have some indirect relevance for this debate. Rather, the question may be raised whether the common identification of the seal with baptism has not had the consequence of suppressing another side of St. Paul's thought. Two out of the three texts used in the discussion about the seal employ not one, but two vivid metaphors. The work of the Holy Spirit is described not only as a 'seal', but also as the 'first instalment' or 'guarantee'. The intrinsic interest of these striking figures for living religious experience, and the conviction that exegesis has often been distorted by a neglect of the second of them, prompts the following attempt to discuss these texts again.

Apostolic Fathers, I, ii, p. 226.

Baptism, p. 142.

² C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, p. 60; A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 166, 230n.; J. A. Robinson, Ephesians, p. 36.

³ W. F. Flemingtou, The N.T. Doctrine of Baptism, p. 66ff.; O. Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, p. 45f., 57; Gabriel Marcel, The Biblical Doctrine of Infant Baptism, p. 31f.; A. Gilmore (Ed.), Christian

THE FIRST INSTALMENT (ἀρραβών)

The word ἀρραβών is Semitic, and as it occurs in non-Biblical Greek and also in early Latin, it appears that it was a trading term taken over from the Phoenicians, the great merchants of the Mediterranean. It appears to come from the Semitic root 'rb, to entwine and so to pledge. In the business world it combined the sense of 'first instalment' and 'guarantee'. It referred to a part payment of a debt which carried with it the guarantee that the full amount would be paid later. It might be made in money or in goods, but the early commentators insist that the ἀρραβών had to be of the same kind as that for which it was the security. (In this it differed sharply from ενέχυρον which might be a security of any type). Thus Lightfoot states, 'The thing given is related to the thing assured, the present to the hereafter—as a part to the whole.' Moreover, there are many examples from the Papyri where 'the vernacular usage amply confirms the New Testament sense of an "earnest" or part given in advance of what will be bestowed fully afterwards 75.

These ideas lie behind two texts in 2 Corinthians:

He (God) has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee (or 'first instalment': $d\rho\rho\alpha\beta\omega\nu$) (2 Cor. 1:22).

He who has prepared us for this very thing is God, who has given us the Spirit as a guarantee (ἀρραβών)

(2 Cor. 5:5).

The context of the second passage is the expectation of life beyond death. In the light of our discussion so far, we may clearly say that Paul means that part of the future bliss is already obtained in present experience, and that this first instalment is itself a guarantee that the rest will be forthcoming. Such an experience is the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer. But what kind of experience? The answer no doubt lies locked up in the phrase 'in our hearts' (ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν) from our first quotation. But it is not clear that we have the key. Modern research has stressed again and again that the heart (καρδία) in Biblical thought is not merely the seat of the emotions. Rather it embraces the whole personality. The article in Kittel's Wörterbuch, after indicating how καρδία is the 'central point of man's inner life', the seat of emotion, mind and will, finally ranges 2 Cor. 1:22 under the heading, 'The heart is above all the one central place within man which God addresses, in which the religious life is rooted, and which determines the moral disposition.

Moulton and Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 79.

^{&#}x27; See the full account in J. B. Lightfoot, Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul. 23.

It would be foolish to be too specific. The 'life in Christ' is too rich a thing to suffer gladly the limitations of our tidy analytical minds. The 'first instalment in our heart' will be the momentary exaltation of some great spiritual crisis: it will no less be the growing integration of the inner life of the soul as it is more and more possessed by the Spirit of Christ. Interpretation cannot avoid becoming subjective at this point. But at least let the subjectivities belong to someone else. One finds a certain mutual confirmation, delightful because unexpected, in two widely different writers. First the jubilant if slightly pietistic hymn of Charles Wesley:

> My God I am Thine; What a comfort divine What a blessing to know that my Jesus is mine!

Yet onward I haste To the heavenly feast; That, that is the fullness; but this is the taste; And this I shall prove, Till with joy I remove To the heaven of heavens in Jesus's love.

Alongside this we may put the sober words—same metaphor —of a contemporary, Dr. Austin Farrer:

> Apart from the presence in the soul of a foretaste or earnest of supernatural life, revealed truth is dumb to us The act of believing charity is a real supernatural effect, a part of the great mystical action, and a foretaste of the beatific vision.'6

To track down and analyse the deep differences implied in these two quotations is not our business. I am content to claim both as legitimate interpretations of 2 Cor. 1:22. Both are, in their different ways, talking about the experience of the Christian life, rather than of any external sign, or metaphysical abstraction. This is the point to which we shall return.

THE SEAL $(\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma i_S)$

The words σφραγίς, σφραγίζω are common in non-Christian religious and secular contexts in a rather bewildering variety of literal and metaphorical meanings.7 The noun literally means the signet ring which was used to impress the soft wax of the seal on a document. The verb is then used of marking or branding, or simply authenticating in various connections. The three main

⁶ The Glass of Vision, p. 59, 61. The first sentence here quoted plainly refers to our text. For 'foretaste' as a rendering of arrhabon in the language of the Wesleys, cf. John Wesley's Notes on the New Testament on Eph. 1:14.

⁷ Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, p. 7ff. and Moulton and Milligan ad voc.

meanings, which may be fully illustrated from the Papyri, relate to the following uses of the seal: (1) the seal effects a firm closure (whether of a document or a storage jar) and prevents unauthorized tampering; (2) the seal authenticates or guarantees the thing sealed as being the genuine article; (3) the seal brands with a mark of ownership. The New Testament references may be ranged under these three headings.

- 1. A final closure. In Matt. 27:66 we read that the tomb of Jesus was made secure by sealing the stone. This is a quite straightforward use of the literal meaning of $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma'\zeta\omega$. Probably under the same heading is to be classed the metaphorical use at Romans 15:28; $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\dot{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\dot{\alpha}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\dot{\nu}\nu$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}\dot{\nu}\tau\dot{\nu}\nu$. It is rather similar to a modern English slang usage, when we speak of 'tying up' a business matter, or the metaphor behind the commercial use of the word 'consignment'. 'Paul means that all the proper steps had been taken with regard to the collection.'
- 2. Authentication. This may be through a definite outward mark, or in a more abstract way. Of the former, St. Paul's description of circumcision as 'a seal of the righteousness which he (Abraham) had by faith' (Romans 4:11) may be quoted. Circumcision was an outward confirmation of the spiritual reality of Abraham's justification. The same sense of authentication, though without any obvious outward 'seal' is the metaphorical use at 1 Corinthians 9:2. St. Paul speaks of the Corinthians as 'the seal of my apostleship': i.e. the fact that they are Christian confirms the fact that St. Paul himself is a true apostle.

Here also may be mentioned two uses of the metaphor in the Fourth Gospel. John 3:33: 'He who receives his testimony sets his seal to this, (ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι) that God is true.' Here, from the point of view of the person sealing, rather than the thing sealed, ἐσφράγισεν means 'has attested'. 'He who accepts the witness of Jesus thereby attests that Jesus speaks the words of God

as his accredited messenger.'9

Probably John 6:27 employ the metaphor in the same way: for on him (the Son of Man) has God the Father set his seal. (τοῦτον ἐσφράγισεν). The interpretation of ἐσφράγισεν here is extremely difficult, and the commentators are divided. J. H. Bernard and C. K. Barrett are inclined to see here a reference to the baptism of Jesus. E. Hoskyns and R. H. Strachan do not commit themselves, but are content to say, 'God has authenticated Jesus both in his person and his mission'. It would seem most likely that the verse should be interpreted with reference to the fascinating and difficult question of the witness of the Father to Jesus (as in John 5:30–38; 8:17ff.)¹¹ in the light of the rabbinic

M.M. following Deissmann.

⁹ I.C.C., ad loc.
¹⁰ Strachan, ad loc.

¹¹ E. F. Scott, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 199–203; C. H. Dodd, Interpreting the Fourth Gospel, p. 328f.

teaching that God's seal is truth.¹² God authenticates Jesus through the response of those who believe.

3. Ownership. In a more or less literal sense this use appears

at 2 Timothy 2:19:

But God's firm foundation stands, bearing this seal: 'The Lord knows those who are his.'

But there are far more intriguing applications both literal and metaphorical of the $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ is idea than this. Professor Lampe shows in great detail how slaves were tattooed and prisoners branded, and soldiers again tattooed as 'the emperor's men'. With this custom in view pagan worshippers marked their bodies to show that they were the property of the deity, and there are

traces of a similar idea in the Old Testament.

It would seem to be a combination of this idea with the idea of a guarantee or authentication which underlies the texts which are the special subject of our enquiry (Ephesians 1:14; 4:30; 2 Corinthians 1:22). Lampe points out the difference between these passages and Romans 4:11. This verse speaks of circumcision as a 'sign or seal of the righteousness which he (Abraham) had by faith while he was still uncircumcised'. It is Abraham's righteousness which is here sealed by the sign of circumcision, whereas in the former group of passages it is the persons of believers which are 'sealed for the day of redemption'. They are thus branded as God's men in Christ, and their redemption is assured. In the Apostolic Fathers such language almost invariably referred to baptism. But how far was this intended by St. Paul?

To prepare the way for an answer to this question we have examined every occurrence of the oppayis root in the New Testament outside the Apocalypse. Such a procedure is necessary to illustrate the great variety of usage (metaphorical as well as literal) even in quite a limited number of passages. Of the Pauline verses, one and only one incontestably uses the metaphor with reference to an outward mark, and that is circumcision. Two others, however, will sustain no such reference (Rom. 15:28 and 1 Cor. 9:2). 2 Tim. 2:19 is probably not Pauline, and in any case irrelevant. The two passages from the Fourth Gospel seem to speak of attestation as an intellectual or spiritual apprehension. We are not therefore in the position of having to rely solely on the evidence of the Fathers in trying to determine what our texts might mean: within the New Testament itself there is a range of meanings which forbids us to say that the seal must mean baptism. It might be used in a far more general metaphorical way.

It would take too long to examine all the occurrences of this word in the Apocalypse. It must suffice to state categorically that there is an equal variety of usage within that one book, and that

¹³ The Seal of the Spirit, p. 9ff. Lampe, op. cit., chapter 6.

¹² W. F. Howard, Christianity According to St. John, p. 185.

it is far from certain that there is any reference to baptism in the 'sealing of the saints'. Professor Lampe, for example, prefers a

very different interpretation. 15

We may here pause to point out that the patristic evidence is not quite unanimously in favour of the baptism reference. The Epistle of Barnabas is especially relevant, as it is probably to be dated between A.D. 70 and 80.16 This comparatively early work speaks of circumcision as a σφραγίς 17 following Romans 4:11: It is not at all clear, however, that this passage is intending to speak of Christian baptism as the seal, as Lampe claims. 18 Another reference in Barnabas (which Lampe does not quote) points quite definitely in another direction:

> 'And Moses understood, and threw the two tables from his hands; and their covenant was broken in pieces, that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed unto our hearts (ἐνκατασφραγισθη είς την καρδίαν $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$) in the hope which springeth from faith in him' (Ep. Barn, 4:8).

The context is the contrast between the old and new covenants. To that extent, therefore, the passage might be held to support the idea that baptism is a new circumcision. But the language could hardly be plainer: it is pointing to a spiritual imprinting or engraving of the new covenant on the heart. The Old Testament background will be Jeremiah 31. Possibly there is a reflection of the Pauline teaching we are now to consider. Certainly this statement from the Epistle of Barnabas expresses what I believe to be the essential meaning of the Pauline doctrine of the Seal of the Spirit.

THE SEAL OF THE SPIRIT

We have so far established a great fluidity in the use of the metaphor of sealing among New Testament writers. We have shown that even in the sub-apostolic period this metaphor did not always mean baptism. We are perhaps in a position to approach the exegesis of the Pauline 19 texts with open minds. We may begin from Ephesians 1:14:

έν ω (sc. τω χριστω) καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τω πιεύματι της επαγγελίας τω άγίω, ο εστιν άρραβων της κληρονομίας ήμων.

¹⁷ Ep. Barn. 9:6.

18 Op. cit., p. 84, 104. In the opinion of Arndt and Gingrich (s.v. sphragis), sphragis need be no more than a metaphor for attestation or con-

¹⁵ Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, p. 285. Contrast however A. Richardson, Theology of the New Testament, p. 352.

16 The view of J. B. Lightfoot, recently confirmed by R. P. C. Hanson. Allegory and Event, p. 100.

I am not persuaded of the non-Pauline authorship of Ephesians. C. L. Mitton (The Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 153) claims that Eph. 1:13f. is a conflation of 2 Cor. 1:22 and Gal. 3:14, but for our purposes, (a) an

The sealing is 'with the Holy Spirit', and the relative clause defines more precisely what the work of the Holy Spirit in sealing is. It is a 'first instalment' or 'guarantee' of our inheritance. Our study of ἀρραβών has shown us the deeply inward experiential meaning which Paul attaches to this phrase. It would seem from this verse quite clear, therefore, that 'sealing with the Holy Spirit' is (in Lampe's words) an 'inward experience of the Spirit, which represents the circumcision of the heart'.20

The interpretation of Ephesians 1:14 must, I submit, govern

that of Ephesians 4:30:

καὶ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὡ ἐσφραγίσθητε είς ημέραν απολυτρώσεως.

Here, ϵ_{ν} might be merely instrumental—precisely equivalent to the τῶ πνεύματι of 1:14. On the other hand, taken on its own, this verse might leave open the possibility that Paul thought (though he did not write) that the believer was sealed with water (υδατι) in the Holy Spirit. But the parallel with 1:14 shows that it is the supernatural influence of the Spirit in which believers are sealed that is uppermost in the writer's mind. Thus Westcott comments on Eph. 1:14: 'Here the Spirit is regarded as the instrument by which believers are sealed; in 4:30 as the element, so to speak, in which they are immersed.

The elucidation of 2 Corinthians 1:21-22 is more difficult.

ό δὲ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς Θεός, ό καὶ σφραγισάμενος ήμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος έν ταις καρδίαις ήμων.

The extent to which each participle is to be regarded as referring to a separate act of the Holy Spirit, or perhaps a separate rite of Christian initiation, is uncertain, and rendered more obscure by a difference of reading. Probably we should accept the view of Plummer²¹ and Kilpatrick, reading δ after $\Theta\epsilon\delta s$. this case, verse 21 (as far as $\eta \mu \hat{a}_s \Theta \epsilon \hat{o}_s$) is best taken as a complete sentence, with $\Theta\epsilon\delta s$ as predicate. What follows then adds an additional point, and this is the force of καί in ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος: 'He not only anointed us, but also (καί) sealed us and gave . . .'22 The whole passage would then be rendered:

'The one who establishes us with you in Christ, and who anointed us, is God; who also sealed us and gave us the first instalment of the Spirit in our hearts.'

^{&#}x27;Ephesian Continuator' was nearer to Paul than we are and likely to interpret him correctly, (b) any misinterpretation by a later writer would tend to treat the seal as baptism (in line with patristic writers). This, if our argument is correct, has not happened here.

²⁰ Op. cit., p. 62. ²¹ I.C.C., ad loc. ²² Plummer, I.C.C., ad loc.

These grammatical niceties cannot entirely establish, but do suggest the conclusion that in these two verses St. Paul is putting forward two points, each in a pair of participles, first, that God confirms and has anointed us, and second, that He also sealed us

and gave the first instalment or guarantee in our hearts.²³

But what is meant by these metaphorical expressions? The view has been put forward that xpious refers to an actual rite of anointing in confirmation, which took place even before baptism: σφραγισάμενος then refers to the subsequent act of baptism. The evidence for this is late and uncertain and it has been sufficiently refuted by Lampe.²⁴ Our own argument has already suggested a degree of caution in connecting σφραγισάμενος with baptism. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether a different exegesis will not succeed both in preserving the apparent twofold stress in these verses, and in keeping closer to characteristic Pauline and New Testament usage.

The phrase είς χριστόν in itself recalls Galatians 3:27: είς χριστὸν έβαπτίσθητε. It is a formula associated with baptism. The natural inference is that if any words here refer to baptism they should be the participles most closely connected with είς χριστόν, viz. βεβαιῶν and χρίσας. H. B. Swete adopted this view²⁵ and it is strongly supported by a consideration of Acts 10:38 and Luke 4:18.26 In these passages it is stated or implied that Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit, and the moment of anointing which is in view is most readily explained as His baptism. Now our verse plainly contains a play on the word χριστός: Christians are anointed into the Anointed, and He received His anointing with the Spirit at His baptism. It is through baptism, therefore, that believers are incorporated into the Messianic community which is the Body of Christ.

It is not quite clear that this interpretation will easily fit the only other New Testament reference in which Christians are said

to be anointed:

'But you have been anointed by the Holy One, and you all know' (1 John 2:20).

'The anointing which you received from him abides in you, and you have no need that anyone should teach you; as his anointing teaches you about everything, and is true' (1 John 2:27).

Here a purely spiritual anointing seems more appropriate, whether the correct understanding here be of some 'spiritual

²⁴ Op. cit., pp. 81–93.

²³ Or possibly, in view of the change of tense and word order, βεβαιῶν (present) embraces the whole of what follows, 'He confirms us, in that he anointed (and also sealed . . .).

²⁵ The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 192. ²⁶ Cf. Flemington, The N.T. Doctrine of Baptism, p. 67, and C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, p. 59.

experience' or the 'word of the Gospel', as C. H. Dodd has argued. But the association of the anointing of Jesus with His baptism may still suggest that the idea of baptism is present here, if not the primary meaning: the Word of the Gospel is the confession of faith made at baptism, if Dodd's view be correct.27

It would seem therefore that while the material for forming any judgment is tenuous, the weight of evidence, if we confine our attention to the primary witness of New Testament usage, is as strong for associating xploas with baptism as it is weak for suggest-

ing a link between this rite and the root σφραγίς. 28

Now if we have correctly assessed the grammatical implications of the two verses as a whole, they should be read as positive evidence against identifying the 'seal' with baptism.29 Our case by no means rests on this slender basis, but it does give some support to our previous discussion of $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ is. Who also sealed us . . . appears to introduce a different point. If we ask, What point?, our previous exegesis of the 'seal' as the experience of the Spirit, otherwise described as the 'first instalment of the Spirit in our hearts', would seem to fit perfectly.³⁰ The one phrase in this passage whose meaning is not in doubt is δούς τον ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, and the fact that this ἀρραβών gives the meaning of ἐσφραγίσθητε in Eph. 1:14 may now be used with some confidence to illuminate our present obscurity.

I conclude that βεβαιῶν and χρίσας refer to the anointing of the Spirit received (probably) in baptism, while σφραγισάμενος defined by δούς τον άρραβωνα τοῦ Πνεύματος refers to the experience of this gift. This is the view of C. H. Dodd, who sums up thus: 'The collocation of the words "Christ" and "anointed" shows that Paul has in mind the Messianic consecration as shared by those who are of "the body of Christ" . . . It is not, however, said that Christians are "anointed with the Holy Spirit": they are "anointed" that is "consecrated" in solidarity with Christ, and the "seal" or "guarantee" of this fact is the presence of the Holy

Spirit in the heart.'31

²⁷ C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles, p. 62f. Cf. A. Gilmore (Ed.).

Christian Baptism, p. 166.

difficult by the careful use of the 1st person singular in the adjoining con-

texts, both before and after.

29 Not the reverse, as Flemington, p. 67.

²⁸ Plummer's view that χρισάς refers to the commissioning of the apostles for missionary work depends on the question whether or not $\sigma \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\nu} \mu \hat{\nu} \nu$ is to be carried over to the second $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{a} s$ or not. In $\chi \rho i \sigma a s \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{a} s$ St. Paul may be referring only to himself, Silvanus and Timothy, though the whole verse appears rather to be an affirmation of their solidarity with the Corinthiar Christians 'in Christ'. Plummer is tentative in his suggestion, and admits that the whole verse way that the way that the whole verse way that the whole verse way that the way that the way that the way that the way the way that the way the way that the way that the way that the way the way that the way that the way that the way that the way the way that the way that the way that the way the way that the way thad the way the way that the way the way that the way the way that that the whole verse may well refer to all Christians.

That $\hat{\eta}\mu as$ should be translated 'me' throughout (Moffatt) is rendered.

³⁰ Swete's suggestion 'receiving the impress of God's character' is attractive, but seems to be without parallel among the multifarious uses o σφραγίς.
31 Op. cit., p. 60.

Exegesis of the texts concerned leaves us with a purely 'inward stamp'. There remains a rather tortuous argument from Romans 4:11 by way of Colossians 2:11-12 which is sometimes adduced to prove an identity between the 'seal' and baptism

in the thought of St. Paul.32

He refers to circumcision as a seal of Abraham's righteousness by faith. He also speaks of baptism as equivalent to a circumcision not made by hands. But the burden of the Colossians passage is the great difference between the inward and spiritual nature of the new covenant over against the outward physical character of the old. As σφραγίs in Rom. 4:11 applies precisely to the physical sign of circumcision, it would seem distinctly inappropriate to apply it to Christian baptism in the context suggested by Colossians 2. Even if the collocation of Rom. 4:11 with Eph. 1:13, etc., is 'regarded by the whole Reformed school as classical'33, Lampe seems nearer the truth when he writes, 'Circumcision, other than the "true circumcision of the spirit" such as the prophets foretold, is not likened to baptism by the New Testament writers, but contrasted with it.'34 I conclude that for St. Paul, the seal of the Spirit is primarily the experience of the Spirit's working in life and heart: it is an inward stamp, and

can by no means be simply equated with baptism.³⁵

Now Lampe has undoubtedly shown that the complex of ideas denoted by the eschatological gift of the Spirit and entry upon the New Covenant (or spiritual circumcision of the heart) are brought together in baptism. This was the experience of the early church and the teaching of St. Paul: but the point would be better put by saying that baptism is the sacrament of entry into this sphere of the Spirit in union with the crucified and risen Christ. It may even be (though it is by no means certain) that the agrist participles in our texts suggest that an experience of 'sealing' was given at the moment of baptism. We would not seek to deny that such an experience may commonly have been mediated through baptism. But was it known only in baptism or (for the mature Christian) even supremely in baptism? On such a view we would seem forced to refer the whole of St. Paul's exposition of the life 'in Christ' to the moment of baptism. To do this would be very like the error of the revivalist whose Christian experience has apparently been limited to the moment of his conversion in the distant past.

We are not therefore persuaded by Flemington's attempt to argue from the 'baptismal context' that the seal must be referred

³² Flemington, op. cit., p. 66f.

³³ G. Marcel, The Biblical Doctrine of Infant Baptism, p. 32. Cf. O. Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, p. 56ff.

³⁴ Op. cit., p. 83, also p. 5. Cf. Karl Barth, The Teaching of the Church Concerning Baptism, p. 43f.

³⁵ Cf. Lampe, op. cit., p. 62.

to baptism.³⁶ Being brought into the adoption of sons, putting on Christ in the power of the Spirit and in response to the preached word—these are certainly elements in St. Paul's baptismal theology. But Romans 8 indicates that they are too much a part and parcel of St. Paul's present experience to be limited to the moment of baptism. Flemington remarks, 'that Romans 8 lacks any explicit mention of the rite is probably as accidental as the fact that it equally lacks any mention of faith.' This is surely

special pleading. We require a more flexible interpretation, which reaches with the realities of the Spirit's dealings with us.37 The choice does not lie between baptism and confirmation, or baptism with water and a further 'stage' of baptism with the Spirit. One cannot help feeling that an important reason for Lampe's insistence that the seal must be closely linked with baptism is his healthy dislike of these alternatives. But they are not the only possibilities. The consciousness of life revealed in St. Paul's epistles need not and indeed cannot be represented by a series of rites or any rigid sequence of 'stages'. It is a continuing process within one 'life in Christ', yet involving varying experiences of light and shade. Granted that for him, the Holy Spirit is given in baptism: yet it is a gift which is constantly realized thereafter, both in the sensitive inwardness of the believer's experience (for 'the love of God is shed abroad in his heart') and in the fellowship of the church, the body of Christ. The gift is once for all: but the realization of the gift is progressive, and the awareness of it in experience, fluctuating.

The seal of the Spirit is concerned with this dimension of Christian experience, which is the $\tilde{a}\rho\rho\alpha\beta\dot{\omega}\nu$ of eternal life. That such life is entered upon in and through baptism is comparatively irrelevant for an understanding of it as God's 'seal'. The guarantee, certainty, or assurance, comes to us not from the rite of

baptism, but from the experience of the life of faith.

I would suggest certain ways in which this understanding of the 'seal' is relevant for a proper theological appraisal of religious experience. We may say roughly that baptism stands for the

objective and the seal for the subjective aspect of faith.

The Spirit is given sacramentally through baptism. In granting this, we allow for the association of the 'seal' with the rite of Christian initiation. But it is an association, not an identification. Paedo-baptists certainly cannot, and I doubt if Baptists would, claim that the rite in which the Spirit is given is invariably accompanied by an *experience* of the Spirit. Further, baptism is the medium through which the redeeming power of Christ's and resurrection are objectively applied to the newly baptized. It is still a matter objective rather than subjective that the believer

³⁶ Lampe, op. cit., p. 60f., p. 62.

³⁷ Cf. Emil Brunner, The Misunderstanding of the Church, chapter 5.

should accept this in faith. But what confirms or guarantees to him that his faith is not misplaced, that this is indeed the act of the living God, and not some superstitious mumbo-jumbo? It is his immediate experience, then or later, constantly, intermittently, or even at one climactic and never-to-be-repeated moment, of the illumination of the Spirit. To define this more closely would be far too long a task: we tried to hint at its wide ranging variety in our brief discussion of $d\rho\rho\alpha\beta\omega\nu$. But it is in this realm of experience that the believer finds the guarantee of his faith, and we have seen that this notion of guarantee is cardinal in the two metaphors of St. Paul's we have been discussing. This then is the seal of the Spirit.

The pattern is the same as that found in the sequence of Mark 8 and 9. Peter confesses his faith in Jesus as Messiah. It is only thereafter that that faith is supernaturally confirmed in the Transfiguration. If this be accepted as a true model of the relation between baptismal faith and the seal of the spirit, there would

result clear gain, which we may, in conclusion, tabulate.

1. Baptism is a sacrament of the objective reality of God's

grace. He saves us whether we 'experience' anything or not.

2. The Christian life is therefore one of committal in faith to God's revelation in Christ, not a pursuit of exalted experiences.

3. Nevertheless, such experiences do come, and by our exegesis they receive their proper place in New Testament theology. They are the 'seal' or 'first instalment' of the Spirit which guarantees and confirms the affirmation of faith made by us or for us in baptism. In this way we take a step towards a proper evaluation of the dimension of personal experience, which has in fact been cardinal in the life of countless saints and theologians, without surrendering the basic objectivity of the New Testament kerygma.

The Idea of a Regional Church

B. MANUEL

The relationship between the unity of the Church and diversity within the Church is one of the great questions underlying current discussion on the unity and growth of the Church. Therefore the concept of a Regional Church as representing diversity within the Church needs to be carefully examined.

By a Regional Church is meant the Church of a region which in its whole life, worship and witness faithfully adheres to the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, in the existence of which confession is made in the Christian Creed. This means that in any given region the Church is the Church of God, the Holy Spirit permeating the members of the Body of Christ, the Church; and not merely so many isolated and unrelated exclusive groups of Christians mutually excluding one another in the Name of Christ.

The concept of a Regional Church is not something new. developed only in recent years in Church history. Nor is it right to think that such a concept is the result of the modern occumenical movement and the various regional plans for Church Union. In the period of the New Testament the idea of the Regional Church is already present. In the Epistles we read of the Church of God in Corinth, the beloved of God in Rome, all the saints of Christ Jesus at Philippi, the faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colossae, the Church of the Thessalonians. This is because believing, confessing and baptized Christians in any given geographical area are looked upon and addressed as 'partakers of the heavenly calling'; 'partakers of Christ': 'partakers of the Holy Spirit' and, therefore, recognized as fellowheirs of God with Christ in the Holy Spirit. The Oneness in Christ of all Christians is recognized and zealously nourished. St. Paul's challenge 'Is Christ divided?' and his metaphors of the Church as a body and one huilding further emphasize the fact that the Church is the Church of God, the Head of which is Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit the life-principle of the fellowship of believers. This means One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, and, therefore, One Church of Christ. The Church is the fellowship of those called out in the Name of Christ and gathered together in one fellowship by the Holy Spirit, owing allegiance to and worshipping and witnessing to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Such a concept of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church in any given region is worked out gradually in the context of the regions concerned. The total task of such a Church is to be studied and understood in the unfolding of the five aspects of the life and mission of the Church in any given region. These aspects are: the Mission of the Church, the Polity of the Church, the Doctrine of the Church, the Worship of the Church and the thought patterns and life ideals informing and guiding the life of the Christians in their total set-up of life. In other words we have in each region the Gospel, the Church, the Creed, the Liturgy, and the Christian view of life and way of life.

THE FIVE PATRIARCHATES

In the developing life of the Church it is interesting to watch how these five aspects are given expression in characteristic ways in the various regions in which Christianity spread. Within a few centuries we are presented with the fact of five great regional centres of the life, thought, worship and witness of the Church. These five great Regional Churches are represented by Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople. Along with the developments of the five aspects mentioned above, we see that gradually certain specific characteristics begin to distinguish Christianity in each of these regions. Broadly speaking, we can describe the primary distinguishing marks in terms of Greek Christianity and Latin Christianity, or Eastern Christianity and Western Christianity. We see in this the germs of the developing patterns of Byzantine Christianity and Roman Christianity.

In order to understand this broad distinction between the two great regional wings of the One Church we must see how these two regional wings developed within their own specific contexts. In the West there is the one Patriarchate of Rome, but in the East we have the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. The course of secular history and the inevitable pressure of theological and non-theological factors brought about, not only a growing division between the Eastern Patriarchates under Constantinople and the sole Western Patriarchate of Rome, but also among the four Eastern Patriarchates. These divisions became clear-cut after Chalcedon; firstly, as between the Orthodox Byzantine Christianity and the Catholic European Christianity and, secondly, by the establishment of the separated and national, autonomous Churches of the East. In both cases such divisions came about in the context of the claims of the Western Patriarch for sole dominion over all Christians in matters of Faith and Order, and the claims of the Byzantine Patriarch also from nis side to regulate the Faith and Order of all Christians. The post-Chalcedonian development in Church history in the East and in the West confirmed this, and the great Schism of 1054 nade the division between the two great regional wings of the One Church definite in Church history.

These patriarchates became exclusive in their claims of Orthodoxy and Catholicism, and mutually excluded one another The divisive forces brought in by political, national, social, cultura and intellectual factors were further accentuated by the Byzantin caesaro-papalism and the papal imperialism of Rome. Yet it is interesting to note that, while, in the East, regional national Churches developed, in the West national Regional Churche could not blossom till the Reformation. In the developing life of the Church we see that one of the determining factors of th Reformation was the principle of a Regional Church, this tim more recognizably, in terms of an autonomous, independent sovereign national Church in the context of the various Europea nation-states, as against the Roman ecclesiastical autocracy and papal imperialism. The Church of England is one such exampl of a Regional Church. We have in Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polit a magnificent apologia of the Church of England as the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in Great Britain. Article 34 of th Thirty-nine Articles also speaks of 'particular or national

Today a recovery of some of the principles of a Regional Church has become all-important because of the oecumenica movement in general, and in particular, because of the movement towards Church Union in certain regions in more recent years, a well as because of the inauguration of the Church of South India Those of us who are great enthusiasts for the oecumenical move ment and Church Union will do well to remember that in the formative centuries of the life of the Church oecumenical council were meaningful because they were meetings of representatives of Regional Churches. But later such oecumenical councils were rare, and, if summoned, were only regional occumenical councils This also applies to the Councils, Vatican and others, since the Reformation. The occumenical movement as we know it today i 'regional oecumenism' of post-Reformation Protestant European Christianity. It is significant, therefore, that Rome, which has always been suspicious of the modern occumenical movement, i attempting to begin again where it left off in 1054 by wanting H summon an oecumenical conference between the Eastern Churches and the Roman Church.

A REGIONAL CHURCH IN ASIA TODAY

For us today who want to understand the growth and development of some of the principles of a Regional Church, it essential that there must be in the first place a reconciliation between the mutually excluding ecclesiastical principles under lying Byzantine and Roman Christianity. Only such a reconciliation will lead to an appreciation of the principles of Orthodox as representing Eastern Regional Christianity, and the principle of Catholicism as representing Western Regional Christianity. All understanding of the theology of Orthodoxy and the theology of

Catholicism will enable the theology of Protestantism to bring about that theology of oecumenism which will justify the principles of oecumenism not only to Orthodoxy, but also to the Catholic, the Evangelical and the Pentecostal sections of European Protestantism, as well as to Romanism. This will pave the way to help us to understand, though the Roman claims be otherwise, that European Catholicism and European Protestantism are but two aspects of the Regional Church of Europe. The oecumenism of post-Reformation European Protestantism as well as Roman Catholicism must take more serious note of this fact.

Again, for this reason, the Churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are mainly the off-shoots of post-Reformation European missionary societies, papal and non-papal, should divest themselves of Western ecclesiastical and denominational determinism and begin to take today a more keen theological interest in some of the principles of a Regional Church and refuse to be merely exhilarated by occumenical encounters or be dazzled by Geneva. We need to understand the theology of a Regional Church as interpreted by Rome, Canterbury and Geneva (before we can understand the Catholicism of these three), remembering that such theology of ecclesiastical regionalism is conditioned by post-Chalcedonian theological and non-theological factors of the developing life of the European Regional Church from Chalcedon to the Reformation.

This has to be emphasized because we in India today need to realize that any recovery of some of the principles of a Regional Church must mean a recognition of the fact that in the development of Regional Churches there are three distinct periods:—

1. Pre-Chalcedon, 2. From Chalcedon to the Reformation, 3. Post-Reformation. It is our failure to recognize this which is responsible for our present state of affairs in which we who have inherited the Gospel of Christ via the Western Regional Churches confuse our sacred stewardship of the Holy and Eternal Gospel of God in Christ with our mundane sense of proprietorship of ecclesiastical denominationalism. What is at stake today in Asia and Africa is not denominational Christianity but the very Gospel of Christ. This being so it is incumbent on every thinking Christian in these predominantly non-Christian lands, set in the midst of vital non-Christian Faiths, to try and recover some of the principles of a Regional Church as we see them worked out in the Regional Churches of the Early Church of the pre-Chalcedonian era. This will help us to understand the development of such principles of a Regional Church in the post-Chalcedonian and post-Reformation periods.

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY REGIONAL CHURCHES

In each of the Regional Churches centering round Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople it should be possible to trace the development of the five important aspects of the total life of the Church in any given region. Such a study will enable us to see how in a given region Christian life and witness is expressed in terms of 1. The preaching of the Gospel (the Mission of the Church), 2. The organized ecclesiastical life of the Christians (the Polity of the Church), 3. The ways in which the Christians were helped to understand the Faith for themselves and to explain it to others (the Doctrine of the Church), 4. The rites and ceremonies for the worship of God as Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier (the Worship of the Church), 5. The regulation of the life of the Christian set in the midst of non-Christians (the Christian life in pagan society). Thus we have in each region the Gospel, the Church, the Creed, the Cultus and the Culture: all interpreted and understood in the light of the Revelation of God, Man and World, through Jesus Christ, Incarnate, Crucified, Risen, Ascended and Glorified, and the continuation and perpetuation of His revelation, redemption and reconciliation by the Holy Spirit in the One Church. Herein we have the theology underlying the life, mission, worship, teaching and culture of the Regional Churches. Further we also get a glimpse of how in these Regional Churches the day-to-day living of Christians in non-Christian society affected both the view of life and the way of life adopted by Christians because of the Christian Revelation and the view of life and the way of life traditionally followed by followers of other Faiths. In other words, in the developing life of the Regional Churches the thought-patterns and the life-ideals generally accepted in society are vitally affected because of the impact of the Church and its teaching in these regions.

It is very interesting to see how in the working out of the above five aspects of the life of the Church in these Regions we can detect certain emergent regional principles which predominate in particular regions. We also realize that such emergent principles are the result of the impact of Christ, His Gospel and His Church on the cults, philosophies and religions in these regions. An overall survey of the developing life of the Church in these regions helps us to realize that these Regional Churches are not only set in the midst of paganism, intellectualism and nationalism, but also, because of that, each of them develops a characteristically peculiar way of interpreting the Gospel in the context of its

own immediate surroundings.

It is suggested, therefore, that the Regional Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople each represents one of the more important principles of a Regional Church. These principles are: 1. The principle of fulfilment. 2. The principle of communication. 3. The principle of the good life. 4. The principle of comprehensiveness. 5. The principle of uniformity. (True, all these principles are found at work in each of the Regional Churches under review, but because of the religious, cultural and philosophical differences in their immediate surroundings it was inevitable that in these regions one of these principles should be emphasized more than the others). Before

we finally list these Regional Churches one by one as representatives of one of the above five principles it will be useful to amplify

these five principles.

The principle of fulfilment: The Gospel through the Church fulfilling the philosophical, spiritual, liturgical and ethical longings of the various types of philosophies, religions, cults and moral endeavours.

The principle of communication: In this process of fulfilment an effective encounter is made with non-Christian faiths and systems and there results a fruitful two-way communication which affects both the view of life and the way of life taught by the Christian Faith and as held by the followers of non-Christian Faiths.

The principle of the good life: All religions and philosophies seek to deal with life, good life, and more abundant life because they deal with the meaning and purpose of life. For those who thus seek a meaningful way through existence, the Christian Gospel through the Church points to the more excellent way, the New and the Living way through Christ who said, I am the Way.

The principle of comprehensiveness: The problem in the society of that day was to find the answer to the question: what is that which comprehends all and stays disintegration of life, personal and social? The Church set in the midst of such a query presented the Gospel as providing the principle of integration both for the integration of personality as well as that life-force providing for the integration of the common life in a world disintegrating under the impact of various forces, spiritual, rational and material. The Christian Gospel proclaimed through the Church in these regions was welcomed as providing the way of comprehensiveness.

The principle of uniformity: In the society of the day many philosophies and cults were campaigning for the total allegiance of man and were out to annex the mind and heart of man for particular philosophies and cults. The presence of these rival philosophies and cults made it necessary that not only among Christian converts but also among all people there should be some uniformity of belief and worship. The Gospel was proclaimed as having claims overriding all others and the Church was represented as providing that uniformity in belief, worship and organization that would guarantee for man peace of mind and

quietness of heart.

It is not fanciful to see in each one of the five great Regional Churches some one of the above principles emphasized more than the others. For example in Jerusalem, because of Judaism, the principle of *fulfilment* is emphasized; in Alexandria, because of the prevalence of philosophies, the principle of *communication* looms large; in Antioch, where the followers of Christ were first called Christians, and because it became customary to refer to the Christians as the people of the Way, we may say that the principle of *the good life* must have been emphasized more than the others;

in Constantinople, because of political and national factors, and in order to keep together people of diverse races, religions and tongues, the principle of comprehensiveness must have been emphasized; in Rome, the heart of the Empire, for obvious reasons, the principle of *uniformity* found favour.

Books and Publications Received

C.L.S., Madras:

James Kellock. ETHICAL STUDIES. (Christian Students' Library No. 19). Rs.3/75. Murray Titus. Islam in India and Pakistan. (C.S.L. No. 20).

Rs.3/75.

L. M. Schiff. The Christian in Society. (C.S.L. No. 21). Rs.3/-. W. Stewart. The Faith We Confess. Re.1/-.

Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta:

J. G. Jones. A Good Minister of Jesus Christ. Re.1/75. A. M. Hollis. Unity: Hope and Experience. Re.0/75.

S.C.M. Press (c/o Y.M.C.A., 5 Russell Street, Calcutta 16):

K. Cragg. SANDALS AT THE MOSQUE. 12/6sh.

I. T. Ramsey. Freedom and Immortality. 16sh. P. Maury. Predestination and Other Papers. 12/6sh.

Carey Kingsgate Press, London:

E. Payne. The Fellowship of Believers. 8/6sh. H. Wheeler Robinson. THE LIFE AND FAITH OF THE BAPTISTS. 6sh.

Tyndale Press, London:

R. P. Martin. The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians. 8/6sh. Carl Henry. Revelation and the Bible. 17/6sh.

Inter-Varsity Fellowship:

G. T. Manley. The Return of Jesus Christ. 4sh. J. G. S. S. Thomson. The Praying Christ. 10/6sh.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation:

Current Issues of 'ARUNODAYAM'.

(The above books have either been already reviewed or are awaiting review).

Book Reviews

The Silent Rebellion. Anglican Religious Communities, 1845–1900: by A. M. Allchin. S.C.M. Press. Pp. 256. Price, Rs.20.

This is the second notable book within recent years to throw light on the revival of the Religious Life within the Anglican Communion. The volume under review differs considerably from The Call of the Cloister by Mr. P. F. Anson: it is neither so encyclopaedic, nor does it bring the story up to date, but taking its illustrations from a number of the more important communities, it seeks to tell the story of 'that silent rebellion against the tyranny of evil and the conventions of this world', which lay behind their growth. The story is well told, and is quite obvious that its writing involved the author in a considerable amount of original research, particularly among the Pusey House Papers. The first two chapters are a lucid sketch of the background between 1540 and 1845. There is an interesting section on the relation between the ideals of those who restored the Religious Life and of the Methodist movement in its early days. 'Much of the longing for Christian holiness, the desire to preach the Gospel to the poor, the practice of more frequent and regular Communion, which in the nineteenth century found expression in the religious communities, in the eighteenth century went into the Methodist movement' (p. 33). Similarly the author shows the influence of evangelical devotion and piety, and quotes with approval Bishop Walter Frere's remark, 'The Evangelical movement gave the spirit, and the Catholic movement the form, for this revival' (p. 37). Those who have had experience of missions conducted by members of religious communities will know that this spirit is still present.

One of the most interesting features of the book is the light that it throws upon the social and cultural influences lying behind the movement for the revival of community life. We hear about the status of women, the lot of maiden ladies, the growing estrangement of class from class, and the gulf between Church and people, particularly in the large industrial centres. But Mr. Allchin is careful to keep these secondary considerations in their proper place, and stresses throughout that the only reason for the revival was the call of God. All other factors were but the conditions and circumstances under which that call was heard and

obeyed.

The opposition to the revival is fairly constantly in sight, and, as we should expect, the practical usefulness of the orders was

recognized long before there was any general understanding of the very nature of the community life. Indeed, it is very doubtful if, even now, there is any wide understanding of the Religious Life among practising Christians. The height of naïveté is reached in the questions asked by the Parliamentary Commission of 1870-1, and we also see in its proceedings the common disbelief at that time that these communities could really be 'C. of E.' 'Do we rightly understand you that they are exclusively connected with the Church of England?' 'Yes.' 'So that they could not elect the Archbishop of Westminster to be visitor?' (!) 'No' (p. 177).

A point of interest that emerges clearly on several occasions is the relevance of community life to the missionary situation—whether in a predominantly non-Christian country, or in the great cities of England. The presence here in India of the Oxford and Cambridge Brotherhoods and the Cowley Fathers is witness to that. Have we still something to learn from the remark, 'It was clear that only a life of comparative material simplicity would convince Indians of the genuineness of Christian belief'?

I only discovered one misprint, and that in a footnote, and yet again we have to thank the S.C.M. Press for another well-produced volume. The substance of the book was presented to the University of Oxford for the degree of B.Litt., and the examiners can have had little hesitation in granting it. The author's

style is as pleasing as the contents of the book.

Bishop's College Calcutta K. N. Jennings

Islam in India and Pakistan: by Murray T. Titus. Revised 1959.
Published for the Senate of Serampore College by the C.L.S.
No. 20 of the Christian Students' Library. Pp. 328. Price Rs.3/75.

This book is a revised reprint of Dr. Titus' *Indian Islam* first published in 1930 by the C.L.S., Madras. It was then well received and widely used by students and missionaries all over India and abroad. A revision of the book, bringing it up to date, is to be welcomed. Thirty years ago Dr. Titus had hoped that his book would be an introduction to a further and fuller study of the subject by others. Unfortunately not much has been written. Specially is it disappointing that Muslim writers have not taken up the subject seriously. Mufti Shaukat Ali Fahmi has written some books in Urdu on the history of Islam in India. But they are largely of a defensive nature, purporting to show that non-Muslim historians have falsely painted the Muslim rulers of India in dark colours. He is at pains to show that the Muslim rulers of India were sympathetic, generous and friendly to their Indian subjects and that their rule did more justice to the common man

than the so-called secular governments of today. Dr. Titus' account of the early Muslim invaders of India and their motives in undertaking their expeditions are well analysed and documented. It is as fair a narrative of the historical events as it is possible for a non-Muslim to give. He is appreciative of the great contribution Islam has made to the cultural, social and religious life of India. He agrees with Arnold when the latter says, 'It is this absence of class prejudices which constitutes the real strength of Islam in India, and enables it to win so many converts from Hinduism'. Dr. Titus' assessment, however, that the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the lay leaders (Mullas) has kept the bulk of the Muslim community in ignorance and backwardness, is a true one and is acknowledged by many modern Muslims themselves. This will be apparent from the chapters on Modern Movements and New Muslim Apologetics and Polemics. Dr. Titus also shows that while Islam has influenced Hinduism it has itself been influenced by it. The influence of the Indian caste feeling is perhaps reflected in the class distinctions of Sayyad, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan among Muslims. These distinctions do not of course correspond to the four castes of Hinduism, but there is no doubt that Islamic castelessness has to some extent been compromised in India.

In one respect even this latest revision of the book is already out of date in 1960. Pakistan has undergone dramatic and radical changes in its political life during the last twelve years. The Constitution to which Dr. Titus refers is now a dead letter. Pakistan is now under a benevolent military dictatorship and it is not at all clear what shape its political and religious life will take in the future. There are certain reform tendencies appearing in Pakistan which show that whatever happens Pakistan is not going to be an Islamic State in the traditional sense. This has aroused both fears and hopes in the hearts of Muslims of India, according as they are conservative or progressive. The time has not yet come

to pass a judgement on the Islam in Pakistan.

In India too a strong 'Protestant' movement has come into being, such as represented by Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Dr. Titus does not seem to have taken notice of this, having been out of India for some years now. It is difficult to keep pace with events in the fast changing India of today.

Along with the Rev. L. Bevan Jones' *People of the Mosque*, Dr. Titus' book is a simple but adequate introduction to the study

of Islam in India.

Islam in India and Pakistan has a good bibliography and a glossary of terms at the end of the book.

Henry Martyn School of Islamics Aligarh EMMANUEL SADIQ

The Meaning and Practice of Prayer: by Sister Carol Graham. No. 17 of the Christian Students' Library. C.L.S. Re.1/50.

The Praying Christ: by J. G. S. S. Thomson. Tyndale Press. 10s. 6d.

It is not an exaggeration to say that one of the most urgent needs of the Church in India today is that ordinands and the ordained should have a thorough grounding in the theology of prayer and worship, in order that their own devotional life, private prayer and meditation may enable them more effectively to lead and participate in public worship. Sister Carol Graham from her own experience has been able to give in her book the balance between private prayer and public prayer, wherein the one informs and enriches the other. To give, within the limits of a slim volume, the rich experience gained from the available amount of first-class devotional literature is no mean task. The various chapters (on The Life of Prayer, The Vision of God, Worship, Penitence, Meditation, Intercession, Recollection and Corporate Prayer) are marked by simplicity of style and clarity of thought. Each chapter closes with a valuable selection of prayers, which will be used by the reader with great profit. For those who want to know more deeply about the meaning and practice of prayer, there is a good bibliography at the end of the book. It is hoped that many readers will be inspired by reading this book to go on to explore further, with the help of the books recommended, the great riches of a life of prayer and worship.

The second book, from the Tyndale Press in London, has as its sub-title 'A Study of Jesus' Doctrine and Practice of Prayer'. The author examines carefully the Lord's teaching on prayer, the Lord's practice of prayer, one of our Lord's prayers (St. John, ch. 17), the Lord's Prayer, the Ascended Lord's high-priestly ministry, and he concludes with a chapter on the Old Testament injunction to 'wait on the Lord'. The phrase is studied in the context of the eight different Hebrew words used to denote this phrase. The book is written with the purpose of helping Christian ministers and laymen to understand and appreciate the Biblical concept and meaning of prayer. It will certainly help them to do this, and to gain a clearer understanding of what prayer is, and why and how we should pray as our Lord prayed and waited on the Father.

B. M.

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